1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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614 784 825 make is by the *tatong*. The respect shown by the Shokwa is shared by all the Katab clans, and any member of another clan living near Shokwa who accidentally killed a *tatong* would take its body to Shokwa for burial. The Shokwa people do not, however, call themselves by the name of their emblem animal. On the contrary, the *tatong's* name is taboo.

614 784 824 The Aswen subdivision of Minyam respects a certain large tree at Kibori. This tree is known as " the husband of Aswen ", and rites are regularly performed at its base. There was formerly another tree of the same species at Kibori, which was the original object of worship and was known as " the mother of Aswen ". It was destroyed by fire some forty years ago, and it is said [766] that as it fell it gave a mighty shout. The whole of the Aswen sub-clan assembled, and a funeral feast was held with beer-drinking, dancing, and music (horn band), and the death of the tree was lamented as that of some great chief. The grove round the remaining tree is taboo. No one may enter it with an axe, and every November at harvest first-fruit rites are performed at the base of the tree. The space round the tree is cleared. [782] The headman of Aswen leads the procession of grown-up men, and when they come to the tree all kneel down and salute it twice by touching the ground and then the forehead. The head of the sub-clan offers a petition to the tree for the welfare of the clan and then smears the trunk with a porridge made from new millet (*digitaria*) and pours libations of beer. These rites are performed in the evening, and a dance and feast follow and are kept up until the following night. No female or young person is allowed to approach the vicinity of the tree. The sub-clan does not respect all trees of the same species, and we cannot, therefore, regard the particular tree as a totem, though the title " Mother of Aswen " would suggest that the sub-clan regard the tree as its ancestor. Possibly we have here an instance of a totem in the making, so that in time all trees of the species will become sacred to the Aswen.

Sub-clans and Kindreds.—The principal clans, viz. Minyam 613 and Agbat, have subdivisions which may be described as sub-clans, 583 the characteristic feature of the sub-clan being that it constitutes a wife-stealing unit *vis-à-vis* any other sub-clan of the same clan. The sub-clan appears to have come into existence by a [616] process of fission which in the first instance resulted in a dual

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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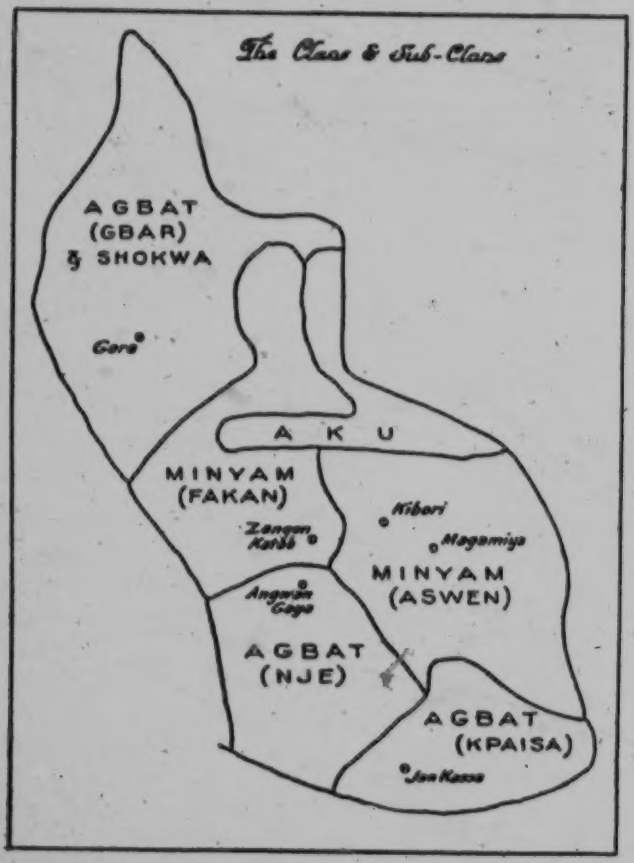
organization.[1] Thus the Minyam clan consists of the moieties[2] Fakan and Aswen, each politically independent and each inclined to be hostile to the other owing to the fact that each constitutes



a group from which the other may abduct married women to become secondary wives. The two sections claim to have had a common father.. This cannot now be proved genealogically and

[1] But not a dual organization of the specific type known to anthropologists.
[2] The term " moieties " as used here bears no special sociological significance.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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may be a fictitious explanation of the rule which forbids intermarriage between members of the moieties, a rule which may have been based on reasons other than those of blood relationship. The Agbat clan has a triple division, viz. Gbar Kokwak (Kwak), Kpaisa and Nje, but it was stated that the division was originally dual, the Nje being strangers who were adopted at a later date.

The sub-clans are composed of kindreds (*kwai* or *bin*), the term kindred being used here to describe the unilateral grouping of a number of families related through the father. Thus the Aswen sub-clan consists of the following kindreds: (1) Amurum-Alan, (2) Yagofo, (3) Awai, (4) Magamiya, (5) Kofo. Here again the organization was in the first instance dual, consisting of two moieties Amurum-Alan and Yagofo, the former being the religious, the latter the political chiefs. The Awai were adopted into the clan as a reward, it is said, for having taught the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo people the art of skinning animals, the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo having previously been in the habit of roasting animals with the skin on. Magamiya and Kofo were also adopted, the former being immigrants from the Ikulu tribe and the latter from the Kagoro of Kabbanchan.

The small clans of Aku and Shokwa have no sub-clan organization and appear to consist of a number of kindreds or adopted groups. There does not appear to be any formal rite of initiation into the clan. A boy learns the rules of exogamy as soon as he reaches the age of puberty, and is shown the costume of the local tutelary genius when he has learnt to use the hoe. The kindreds are, of course, exogamous.

The following tables summarize (*a*) the kinship and (*b*) the territorial groupings:—

(*a*) KINSHIP GROUPINGS

Clan.	*Sub-Clan.*	*Kindreds and Adopted Groups.*
Minyam	Fakan	Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda.
	Aswen	Amurum-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Magemmi, Kofo.
Agbat	Gbar	Angwai, Tainchen, Telen.
	Kpaisa	?
	Nje	Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba.
Aku	—	Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon.
Shokwa	—	Kuzat, Kamantam.

According to Meek, the Kafanchan (occasionally written by him "Kabbanchan") tribe, located in the immediate vicinity of Kafanchan Town, are an "offshoot" of Kagoro. Smith notes that Kagoro seem to have regarded Kafanchan as friends and allies in times past.

The most recent figures available specifically for Kagoro of Jema'a and for Kafanchan are those compiled by A. B. Mathews in 1934:

	Village	*Population*
Kagoro	Tafam [61]	887
	Tukun Kasa	250
	Tukun Tozo	388
	Ungwan Kagoro [62]	146
	Total	1,671
Kafanchan	Total [63]	971

At the time of Mathews' investigation, Kagoro of Jema'a were administered through three village headmen (Tafam, Tuku, and Ungwan Kagoro). In 1950 Administration was encouraging the formation of a tribal council as a means of uniting whatever factions may have existed among Kagoro in the District. Kafanchan appear sometimes to have been administered through the heads of their four villages, sometimes through a "tribal chief"—an institution alleged to date back to their submission to Kajuru. At present, they are said to have elected to join with the three Kaje villages of Jema'a District to form a local council.

Traditions: Social Structure[64]

Kagoro are divided into two major groups or "moieties" on the basis of their traditions of origin. One of these bears the name of Ankwei:[65] this group is patrilineally descended from ancestors who left the High Plateau to the north-east of Kagoro District, resided for a time in the vicinity of Nimbia and eventually retired to the safe heights of the Kagoro massif (about 1700, according to Smith's estimate).[66] From the account given by Smith it seems not unlikely that, while at Nimbia, Ankwei may have been simply a localized clan or clan segment participating with other similar groups in a tribal organization the major centre of which lay on the High Plateau, for example, at Jal, or Shonong (Oshono), or Bachit, or Riyom; on Kagoro rock, however, where Ankwei would virtually have lost all contact with the Plateau homeland, Ankwei-Kagoro "split into three divisions, Zafan, Mingio and Atswam," according to the tradition ascribed by Smith to "the men of Zafan." These seem likely to have been localized exogamous groups (cf.

[61] Tafa, according to Tremearne; Tafan, in the Census of 1930 Village Directory.

[62] The first three villages named claim to antedate all Kagoro settlements in Kagoro District, Zaria; the inhabitants of what Mathews calls "Ungwan Kagoro" are recent immigrants from Kagoro District, said to have come seeking to escape persecution from a District head later deposed. No "Ungwan Kagoro" appears on present-day village lists at Kafanchan, and it is to be supposed that these immigrants reformed themselves, after Mathews' investigation, into a number of villages: in addition to the first three named above, Administration recognized Akau, Chenji, Daudu, Godogodo, Kato, and Kowai as Kagoro settlements in 1950. It is not known whether immigration from Kagoro District continues.

[63] Kafanchan Town is said originally to have been a Kafanchan settlement, but here they have been largely displaced by "stranger" elements. Kafanchan villages recognized as such by Administration are: Garaje, Ungwar Adam, Ung. Mamudu, and Ung. Sigari (Ringari on Forestry Reconnaissance Map of the Division dated May, 1948).

[64] A field study by M. G. Smith, who appears to have taken fully into account the earlier work done by Meek at Kagoro, is heavily drawn upon in this section.

[65] No connection with Ankwe (more properly Kemai or Goemai) of Shendam Division, Plateau Province, can be traced.

[66] Tradition recorded at Kagoro: it is not known whether Tuku and Tafam in Jema'a District are Ankwei, or constitute one or more other similar groups perhaps not represented among Kagoro of Kagoro District.

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discussion of "clans" and "wards" at Gure, Kahugu, and among Katab), in the beginning: to-day, there are Mingio and Atswam "wards" scattered among a number of villages, and the number of exogamous units among Ankwei has greatly increased, presumably through fission, except in the case of three only (Ankut, Anpi, and Kagwom, at Dussai and Mafok villages), which are said to be Kachichere in origin and must, in the light of the discussion of Kpashan, below, be considered anomalous.[67]

The remainder of Kagoro of Kagoro District are grouped together as Kpashan. According to Smith, "Kagoro country seems to have been a refuge area . . . and tradition states that throughout the 19th century various small groups . . . moved to safety among the Kagoro. The first such group was the (Ma-)Kata . . . The Kata group were called Kpashan by the Kagoro already settled there, and referred to these as *Ankwei*, the name by which the Ankwei described themselves. At first groups of immigrants arriving after the (Ma-)Kata were called *Munzaram*. Later . . . Munzaram and Kpashan were used interchangeably for all the 'strangers' settled in the tribal area who were placed under the ritual control of the Kata, the earliest arrivals." Other immigrant groups in the District have apparently been able to resist assimilation by either moiety, most notably Katab, numbering 1,099 in 1949–50, constituting one entire Village-area (Tum) and a sizeable part of another (Malagum) predominantly Kpashan, and also Ataka, numbering 701.[68] "Kpashan . . . occupy a position of ritual inferiority . . . Ankwei have admitted only the earliest arriving Kpashan, Makata, to . . . the important rituals (*ci*). Cloth was taboo to Ankwei ritual leaders but permitted to Kpashan. . . . Finally, the Kpashan moiety is exogamous in the sense that marriages are not permitted between different Kpashan clans. Among Ankwei this type of exogamy is limited to groups sharing common patrilineal descent. Kpashan may and do abduct wives of other Kpashan, but . . . not . . . wives of Ankwei." Similarly, it would appear, Ankwei do not "abduct" wives of Kpashan men.[69]

The really effective large social kinship unit is the *kwai*, essentially a large-scale localized unit, of the order of a clan, but in the case of the *kwai*, however, it is clear that disparate units are involved, exactly as has already been noted at Gure and elsewhere, farther above, a situation to be expected in a community where the processes of fission and fusion are constantly at work: thus, though "normally" ritually independent, two *kwai*, located in different villages, may recognize a common priest; two *kwai* of a single village, though mutually recognizing their independence, may be stubbornly grouped together as a single *kwai* by Kagoro of other villages; and in at least one *kwai* (Katuwak of Kukum Village-area), there can be intermarriage between members of an adopted lineage of recent Ataka origin and members of other lineages of the same *kwai*, though outsiders apparently make no distinction among the various lineages. Smith, however, indicates that in general members of a *kwai* share in addition to "common residence and patrilineal descent combined,"[70] a common head, common name and totems, common (ancestral?) shrine where members participate in important rituals, common *obwai*

[67] It should be noted that Smith found several other foreign elements accommodated under the name of Ankwei, but some effort was made to conceal their origins: to such elements "fictional kinship may be extended . . . or bonds of uterine kinship may be utilized. . . ."

[68] According to Cole (1949), Tum was (in 1948) absorbed by the Fadan Kagoro Village-area. Smith treats Tum as a separate Village-area, however (as of 1950).

[69] Cf. footnote 19, p. 73, above, re Katab marriage rules. Smith stresses the fact that, among Kagoro, given the heterogeneous character of the community, wife abduction is a source of hostility, feuds, and conflicts, and is probably not practised among the moieties because of its danger to tribal cohesion.

[70] It would appear that kinship among members can sometimes be demonstrated genealogically. The factor of common residence—not necessarily in a single compound—but in a quarter of a village—leads Meek on occasion to translate *kwai* as "ward": this, according to Smith, is confusing, as the "wards" recognized by Administration rarely correspond to the *kwai*. Smith translates *kwai* usually as "clan," but sometimes—for reasons apparent from the discussion of *bin*, below—as "clan-segment".

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592 form a separate social unit and which is laid by the householder's father before any building takes place. Above the central stone is a wooden structure supporting a platform on which grain is heaped in the dry season when brought in from the fields."

618 A single named kinship group among Kagoro—the *bin*—remains to be described. Four kinds of *bin* are classified by Smith: the *bin* formed among "dispersed segments of former clan"; the *bin* formed among agnatically related *kwai* of a single village; and two sorts of artificial *bin*, one, an exclusive grouping of *kwai* and the other, a *bin* of which one or more of the participating *kwai* (or lineages thereof) are linked with other *kwai* (or lineages) to constitute a second *bin* (as will be seen in the table below, certain lineages of *kwai* Kpaguwak, Mingio and Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro participate in a total of five *bin*, for example). The *bin* is, then, an association of *kwai*: membership in a *bin* entails exogamy, and prohibits "wife-stealing" within the *bin*; members share "common totem, where these occur" and, in at least the first of the four types described above, a "common clan name and traditions of common descent, sometimes genealogically demonstrable," is not unusual—though in the last of the two types described kinship is purely artificial. As with the *kwai*, exceptions to all rules seem to occur, but it would appear that the *bin* system, even when its deficiencies are taken into account (see diagram on p. 91), must be essential to Kagoro unity, providing as it does links between the various local units (Village-areas). The actual effects of the *bin* system can best be grasped in the diagram, in which ties between villages are shown graphically.

68 The table which follows, an adaptation from Smith's several tables, shows the distribution of *kwai* by villages, and the *bin* linkages of *kwai* (those *kwai* followed by the same number in parentheses constitute a single *bin*), as well as their moiety affiliations.

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Village-Area : Population	*Ankwei moiety : Kwai—Bin—Population*		*Kpashan moiety : Kwai—Bin—Population*	
Fadan Kagoro (Fada) : 1,895	Kpaguwak (1, 2) ..	214	Kadau (14)	412
	Mingio (2, 3, 4) ..	346	Kalahu (15)	374
	Mungwop (4, 5) ..	173	Lawat (16, 17) ..	376
		733		1,162
Agbam (Agwam, Agwan, ? Ogban) : 1,422	Mingio (3)	415	Kacang (18)	94
	Mungwop (5)	241	Kamuwang (?) ..	413
		656	Kutang (14?)	194
			Lawat (16)	85
				786
Chanje (–i) : 113	Mingio (3)	38	Kutrok (19)	33
	Mungwop (5)	21	Sukurak (20)	21
		59		54
Kpak (Kwak, ? Apak) : 1,299	Atswan (6)	74	Kabiyip (21, 22) ..	92
	Mingio (3)	179	Kagak (21, 22) ..	203
		253	Nientswot (21, 22) ..	256
			Kangai (23)	9
			Micen (23, 24) ..	222
			Kutrok (15, 19, 25) ..	264
				1,046

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Village-Area : Population	*Ankwei moisty : Kwai—Bin—Population*		*Kpashan moisty : Kwai—Bin—Population*	
Kukum (Kukkum) : 1,612	Kangai (7)	315	Sukurak (20)	294
	Katuk (7)	332		
	Katuwak (7)	132		
	Kunduwak (7)	227		
	Kusali (7)	100		
	Zukpom (7, 8)	84		
	Kpaguwak (1)	128		
		1,318		
Kadarko : 708	Kabum (9)	77		
	Kagwurum (9)	173		
	Kanyio (9)	121		
	Kikwot (9)	117		
	Zafan (9)	179		
	Sibio (10)	16		
	Ti (10)	26		
Makaban (Makabbo) : 303	Kabon (9)	183		
	Kagwurum (9)	40		
	Kikwot (9)	16		
	Zafan (9)	59		
	Sibio (10?)	5		
Malagum : 600	Mingio (3)	23	Kawom (24)	206
			Kutrok (19)	380
				586
Safio (Safwio) : 793	Atswan (6)	21	Kalayip (26, 18)	87
	Kabiokut (8)	75	Kamang ? (26, 18, 25)	222
	Mungwop (5)	38	Kushwon (26 18, 17)	146
			Kuluk (22)	204
		134		659
Dussai (Duchin, Dusai) : 230	Ankut (11)	?		
	Anpi (12)	?		
	Kagwom (13)	?		
Mafok (Mafo, Mafor) : 435	Ankut (11)	?		
	Anpi (12)	?		
	Kagwom (13)	?		

It should be explained that the complex linkages between *bin* at Fadan Kagoro are the result of relations maintained by single lineages within the *kwai* concerned. Elsewhere, apparently, linkages between *bin* commonly involve entire *kwai*.

Population figures are derived from Smith's own census of July, 1950, except for the totals for Dussai and Mafok, which he attributes to the N.A. Census for 1949–50. Alternative names for Village-areas given in parentheses are derived variously from Ames, Census Village Directory of 1931, Cole, Meek, and Tremearne.

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY.

In 1950 the chief of the Kagoro Independent District was a man of Kamang *tusa* of Kalahu *kwai* at Fadan Kagoro, popularly chosen by Kagoro on the death in 1948 of his predecessor, who also came of the Kamang lineage: of the five (or more) chiefs recognized by Administration since the first British expedition to the District in 1905, all have come of Kamang lineage save one.

The facts that lie behind these facts are impossible to establish with any real certainty at this late date. Smith sums up the situation: "When living in their strongholds in the Kagoro hills . . .Kagoro had no single tribal chief. . . . He is

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graphy, who is apparently particular to the senior *kwai* (and lineage) in each village. On the other hand, the priestly titles of *tenci* (pl.? *tienci*) and *tu* (or *titu*) *obwai* pertain to every *kwai;* of these the *tienci* of a village are graded according to the seniority of their respective *kwai,* and the *tenci* of the *tienwhop's kwai* serves also as the *tenci* of the village; but the *obwai* priests appear to be essentially equals, though the position is not entirely clear. Each lineage of a *kwai* has a titled head (*niewhop*), and these heads, again, are graded according to seniority.[78]

The *tienwhop* appears to be a fertility priest, essentially, and the *tienci,* hunting priests, with a unique reciprocal relationship between the *tienwhop* and the village *tenci,* implied in Smith's account of their functions and dues. According to Smith, the *tienwhop* " performed the ritual (*ci*) for health and prosperity," for which grain was collected from Kpashan only by the senior resident Kpashan clan and given to the *tenci* of the community; the *tenci* was in charge of village hunting (and head-hunting) ritual, but the *tienwhop* received " one hind-leg of every dwarf buffalo slain in the area under his ritual control."[79]

Terminological confusion obscures the role of the *tienwhop* in the village court, but it appears that he presides over " the traditional village court of priests and elders " when the charge is " ritual " offence; otherwise, " the Village Chief " (*agwom,* presumably) exercises a *de facto* jurisdiction within his Village-area, particularly with regard to cases of paternity and secondary marriage. In the past, disputes between lineages were settled by the clan heads (*niewhop* and *tienci,* apparently), and when clans of a village clashed agreement might be reached between the clan heads concerned without mediation; similarly the *tienwhop* " terminated " feuds between villages and wars with neighbouring tribes.

Limited warfare was a condition between lineages, *kwai* (even of the same *bin*) and villages, before Administration. Disputes over economic trees are said to have been frequent. Boundary disputes were formerly among the chief occasions of inter-village fighting, and occurred in a context of mutual hostility, closely associated with wife-abduction, and with sympathetic relations between villages sharing hostility towards the same community. It is noteworthy that moiety affiliation plays no part in inter-community disputes of any kind. Possibly until Administration, disasters afflicting the whole tribe such as locusts, smallpox, etc., were occasions for the assembly of all adult males by the three *tienwhop* of Zafan, Mingio, and Atswan. According to Smith these three are generally conceded by Kagoro to be senior, though there is some disagreement as to which is paramount. It would appear, however, that in the only traditional tribe-wide institution of which any account is available at present, i.e., in the tribal hunting rites, Zafan occupies the supreme position.

Hunting is still an important source of meat as well as of prestige and is an activity of clan groups closely linked with ritual. Rights to hunt in clearly specified areas are the property of the clan of the man who first marked out the area publicly for hunting. With few exceptions these areas lie in the Village-area of the clan, have clearly known boundaries and names, and do not interfere with the rights of other persons to farm in the area. The Rock itself is the common hunting ground of the tribe and no clan hunting areas are found there.

The season is opened annually in January or December by the taking of auguries by the Kumat lineage of Mungwop clan from a sacred cave at the base of the Rock. After prayers and a ritual beer drink the day for starting the hunt is fixed. On the day appointed the *tenci* of Zafan sets fire to the Rock, and this is done by every village at the base in turn. Then all the males of each community move up the Rock behind the fire, shooting the animals. The Rock hunt is followed by

[78] Niewhop (nishwop?), rendered Meakwap by Temple, and translated " high priest." Smith's account of the *niewhop,* his precise rights and duties, and the relationship between the *niewhop* and *tienwhop* of a village is somewhat confusing. Reynolds' analysis of Kaje titles cognate with Kagoro may be examined to some advantage, farther below, p. 108.

[79] It is to be presumed that *tienwhop* and *tenci* of the village are invariably separate persons, but this is not explicitly stated.